

## A ROYAL MINE IN NETHER HADDON?

By NELLIE KIRKHAM.

ACCORDING to the law of England, the only mines termed Royal, and the exclusive property of the Crown, are mines of gold and silver. This was long a matter of dispute; in the past, in some suits in the courts, it was held that if any gold or silver was found in baser metals, the mine became a royal one. Others held that the royal metal must exceed the other metal in value, while sometimes it was decided that it was a Royal Mine if the cost of extracting the gold or silver was not greater than its worth. The right of entry to a Royal Mine was also disputed, and whether it was legal to enter ground to search for these metals. In 1640 the opinion of fifteen leading Counsel was taken, and they gave it as their decision that though the silver or gold might be of less value than the base metals in a mine in the land of a subject, yet if the royal metal outweighed the cost of refining it, it was a Royal Mine.

One of the earliest patents for these mines was granted in 1564. John Steynberg and Thomas Thurland were given the sole right to mine for gold, silver, copper and quicksilver in eight counties of England and Wales, while William Humphrey and Christopher Shutz<sup>1</sup> of the Mineral and Battery Works were given similar concessions in the counties not in the former grants, and also for the mining of calamine. These grants did not mean that no-one else mined in these areas but other enterprises mining for these minerals had to come to terms with them. Mining monopolies were intended to develop mineral resources, and a special clause in the Elizabethan Mines Royal Patent allowed money for twenty German miners to come to England as it was intended to encourage foreign "mineral masters".

Charles I, in 1638, granted a patent to George Horsey, David Ramsey, Roger Foulke and Dud Dudley for making iron and cast works, and also the same powers and privileges and advantages granted for the Mines Royal. They could dig, open, search, work, wash, roast, stamp and melt all manner of ores and mines, of gold, silver, copper, lead holding silver, or mixed with silver or quicksilver, in manors, lands and possessions belonging to the Crown or to any subject, but they must give reasonable recompense, satisfaction and amends to all the lords, owners or occupiers of the lands for damage or loss. If they could not agree on the damage, the matter was to go before four indifferent men of that shire or the next.

Oliver Cromwell, during the Commonwealth, continued by giving a patent which had interesting repercussions in Derbyshire, near Haddon Hall. On general lines this patent of 26th December 1656 was similar to the one of 1638, but it was granted specifically for search in Derbyshire.<sup>2</sup>

Thomas Lock and Benjamin Bradborne were given license for fourteen years to "search for all manner of Mines Royall" in Derbyshire, paying their own costs. And if in their search for Mines Royal they dug or worked any mines of "copper, brasse, tinne, lead or quicksilver mixed and containing gold, silver or quicksilver" which did not contain enough gold or silver to be worth refining, then they must pay the owners and tenants of the soil one-tenth part of the ore, but in this case the patentees were absolved from the Royal Mines duty to the Crown.

They were to pay one-fifth part of all mines and ore of Mines Royal which they worked, at the feasts of Michaelmas and the Annunciation. They were not to be "interrupted in their works" and were to have free passage through any "Mountains, wasts or other lands" belonging to the Commonwealth or any person, and they must reimburse tenants for damage. These conditions were similar to former grants for Royal Mines. They also had the right to erect mills on any stream or river, with license to dig in all or any of the commons of the county for "turfes or peat" for use in smelting.

But trouble had started before this. The Manor of Nether Haddon is a Private Liberty, not part of the King's Field where the lead-miner has the right of search. Thomas Lock and Benjamin Bradborne "being assured there were Mynes Royal of Silver" within this manor, from August 1656 until the following January, took their workmen "in a peaceable manner" (according to them) "and dug for ore in several of the wast fields" of the manor, and found there lead-ore and other metals, having so much silver content that the mines were Mines Royal, the value of the silver "far exceeding the value of the Lead or other metals therein".

They complained that they had been prevented from enjoying the benefits of the Patent (glossing over the fact that during these months, except from December 1656, the date of the Patent, they had not the right to mine in the Earl of Rutland's manor). They said that "in the said months . . . four several times or more", by the direction of either the Earl or his eldest son, Lord John Ros, or William Saville<sup>3</sup> the Earl's Steward, a number of gentlemen, which included Rowland Eyre, Rickard Cowton, Henry Buxton, William Hopkinson and Samuel Swanne, and six of the Earl's servants, a "great multitude of other people on horseback and on foot . . . did with force and violence" drive Bradborne and his workmen from these mines, and called them rogues, saying it was "as lawful for him or them to robb the next howse they came to as to digg for oare in the said Earl's land". They used "opprobrious and exasperating words", gave them blows and wounds, and drove them out of the Earl's grounds.

The Earl brought an action for trespass in the Upper Bench at Westminster in the Hilary Term of 1657 for digging and carrying away three loads of lead-ore out of Haddon Fields in the Manor of Nether Haddon. He also brought an action against two of Bradborne's workmen and against Francis Staley, another of the Patentees. The exasperated Earl also sought an indictment for what the Patentees called "a pretended riot" in Haddon Fields by John Downes, one of the above workmen, and thirteen others of Bradborne's men, at the previous Quarter

Sessions at Derby. Also the Earl caused a private session to be held before two Derbyshire J.P.'s against twenty-eight workmen for riot.

There was more behind this than appears at first sight. The names of the miners, Anthony Sellers and Rowland Habberjam who worked for Bradborne in the 1657 trouble, are also names in earlier mining trespass at Nether Haddon. And the Earl of Rutland stated that three more, Thomas Mosley, William Bradburne and Jonas Grosegill (or Groosegill)<sup>4</sup> were also doubly concerned.

By the beginning of 1649 the Earl of Rutland had obtained a judgment in the Upper Bench against three miners, William Hayward (or Heywood), Jonas Groosegill and John Spragg, for digging and getting lead without his consent in Nether Haddon, and a jury had awarded the Earl £10 damages and £4 costs.<sup>5</sup> The Sheriff arrested Groosegill and took him to prison, but the undersheriff petitioned the Earl for his release, which was granted on easy terms. Then Groosegill asked an agent of the Earl if Heywood and Spragg could be arrested and made to bear part of the charge against him in the next law term, the Earl stated subsequently that he could prove that he was not concerned in this, but that it was due entirely to Groosegill.

This affair appears to be referred to in a news-letter of 1649 concerning the lead-miners of Derbyshire<sup>6</sup> in which "T.C." complains that the lead-miners are "full of menaces and saucy language against the Parliament". He says that this is aggravated by seven or eight people whose "design is merely their own benefit . . . but why do they still fall upon that person of honour the Earl of Rutland, who hath been ever so noble a neighbour, and reliever of the poorest of these Myners, their wives and children, and hath permitted them to get Lead Oar in all his land in Derbyshire, excepting in his Desmeasnes near his house, which if digged up, would make it uninhabitable, utterly destroy the soil, and prove dangerous by reason of the pits?" Not only was the Earl concerned, but also the freeholders and owners, who were far more numerous than the miners, and as to the latter, "we

cannot be terrified by their number, suppose they were 12,000 men, women and children (which under favour is a great abatement from 40,000 as in their last printed paper) as indeed they are not 4,000". He adds that when they were most enraged against Parliament and for the King they could be dispersed by 150 horse.

The dangers of the pits probably refers to earlier mining in Nether Haddon. During the lifetime of the Earl's grandfather, Sir John Manners (d. 1611, buried in Bakewell Church), some of his servants had been permitted to dig for lead in the manor. His daughter Grace married Sir Francis Fortescue, and her son, Sir John Fortescue, was riding a mare which fell into one of the mines and the mare was killed. After this accident to his grandchild the mines were ordered to be filled in, and during his lifetime Sir John Manners did not permit any more mining in the manor.

It appears to have taken some while to find and arrest William Heyward, for it was November 1650 when the Council of State sent a representative to the Countess of Rutland, who was then staying in London<sup>7</sup> (she had been accused of being concerned in the miner's arrest, but it is not clear in what way) to enquire into the matter. They had heard of the arrest of Heyward, "a miner in Derbyshire, and a person designed to a public service", at the Earl's suit. The Council expressed themselves as being entirely satisfied with the answers of the Earl and Countess, and that nothing had been done to the damage of the Commonwealth, and the Earl would have no further trouble with the Council over the matter.<sup>8</sup>

In a deposition of 15th April 1658, the Earl of Rutland mentions Sellers and Habberjam, who with others had dug for lead without his consent in the earlier case, and says "but finding that by law they could not justify the same, they, as this Defendant believes, with the said Lock and Bradborne, have made a supposition that in the same Manor there are Royal Mines, and under that pretext have obtained Letters Patent . . . and by colour thereof would dig up and carry away this Defendant's lead ore under colour of a Mine Royal." His agent, William Saville, deposed the same, adding that "some confess the same

to be lead-mines, and that there have been indirect means used to make the same appear to be Mines Royal."

In February 1656/7, there was a Bill presented by the Attorney-General (on behalf of Thomas Lock and Benjamin Bradborne (Bradburne) v. Manners, which set out the terms of the Patent for Mines Royal in Derbyshire, and by virtue of the said Patent they intended to proceed in digging the mines in Nether Haddon manor, "being mines royal for the benefit of the Commonwealth, and they were careful not to do any considerable trespass or damage to the owner or the tenants of the soil", and they intended to offer the Earl full satisfaction, but the Earl had utterly refused to allow them to proceed, and had hindered them.

This was followed in August by a petition from Thomas Lock to Protector Cromwell, complaining of obstruction to his mining. This was referred to the Council of State and to a committee, and a copy sent to the Earl on 20th August.

In September General Desborow reported on all the papers sent in from both sides of the dispute, and stated that the Earl would be content to allow pits to be sunk and lead taken for assay in the presence of Robert Eyre and George Eyre,<sup>9</sup> Thomas Lock and one other, and sent up to the London assayers. So long as his possession of the manor was quieted, and his trial at the Exchequer Bar not hindered, General Desborow ordered that the above was approved.

At this point in the quarrel there is no mention of Lock agreeing to this, or sending up any lead-ore, and William Hopkinson on behalf of the Earl stated that the Earl and his servants had been willing to observe this, "but that the said Thomas Lock and Benjamin Bradborne have wholly declined the same."

No date is given, but Hugh Joanes, an able and skilful miner, was appointed by the Earl to dig in the same place in the manor where Bradborne's miners had dug. Joanes dug in the presence of Hopkinson, and the ore was taken up to London by William Hopkinson, William Tofte (there is still a Youlgreave family of this name) and others. Mr. Alexander Jackson, Assay Master of the Goldsmiths Hall took part of the ore indifferently out of the whole

and made "dilligent trial" of what quantity of silver was contained in it, and his conclusion was that there was not above half an ounce of fine silver in one hundred-weight of lead, and that the silver was not worth one-fifth part of the value of the lead out of which it was tried, adding that twenty hundredweights of lead equalled one ton, while a fodder of lead was only nineteen hundred-weights and being worth in London about £15. William Saville said that he had seen other lead-ore assayed which had been obtained in a place remote from Nether Haddon which yielded more silver, though not so much as the value of the lead, while William Hopkinson spoke of the "sofisticating of lead oare, and adding silver and other ingredients thereunto to multiple silver", and said that he had heard Bradborne confess that he had known shavings of silver put "betwixt lead-ore and spar and fixed together with mouth glue so that the same should not be discerned."<sup>10</sup>

From December 1657 to January 1657/8 there were great excitement and stirring times in Youlgreave and Haddon Fields. On 3rd December, Lord John Roos<sup>11</sup> was riding into Haddon Fields "to see some of his horses ayred there" when he saw a large number of people coming down towards him and towards Haddon Inn, and when he asked them what was happening they told him that Bradborne had been arrested by a warrant from two Justices of the County. About a quarter of a mile ahead, and not within his view when he first saw the crowd of people, he came to Bradborne and a lot of people, and Bradborne used many uncivil and provoking words to him, but he gave no uncivil reply, as he thought that Bradborne had spoken in that fashion to try to provoke him, so he returned to his horses. Later he went to Haddon Inn<sup>12</sup> to hear Bradborne examined before the Justices.

All the papers, Lock's, Bradborne's and the Earl's, were referred to the Committee on Mines for County Derby on 22nd December for their report.

No evidence has come to light as to who authorised the next move, nor when Col. Edward Ashenhurst joined with Lock and Bradborne, but by March 1658 he was

a co-adventurer with them in the Nether Haddon mine project.

About 18th or 19th January 1657/8 William Saville, the Earl's agent, heard that it was commonly reported in Nether Haddon that Col. Ashenhurst and a troop of armed soldiers had come out of Staffordshire and other counties, and were quartered in Youlgreave, prepared to assist Bradborne and his workmen to work the Nether Haddon mines. On the morning of the 20th, Hopkinson went to Youlgreave, and also to Haddon Fields, in which latter place he saw the Earl of Rutland's servants "in peaceful and quiet possession of Haddon Pastures".

Later in the same day he went to Youlgreave and saw about a hundred people, many of them miners, assembled near Youlgreave churchyard. Troops under the command of Col. Ashenhurst were there, about thirty foot and eight to ten horse, some of them armed with swords and pistols. They had come from Staffordshire, Cheshire, Yorkshire, and some were Derbyshire men.<sup>13</sup> Bradborne made a "solempne" speech, inciting the company to go with him to Haddon Fields. The Constable of Youlgreave read a warrant from two Justices of the Peace commanding the people assembled there to depart in peace. But needless to say this had no effect and the troops and the crowd went in hostile riotous manner from Youlgreave to Haddon Fields.

Among those present were Samuel Swanne, St. Clare Raymond, Raphaell Hollingshed, Richard Whittacker, John Courtnall, Raphe Mather,<sup>14</sup> William Crosse, John Browne, Thomas Brewen (otherwise Brewell), Rowland Haberjam and William Thorpe, not all of them being Derbyshire men.

Richard Calton (or Cawton) had not been at Youlgreave, but was waiting in a close of Henry Buxton's adjoining Haddon Field, and he saw Col. Ashenhurst and about ten horsemen ride into Haddon Fields, followed by Cornet Gates leading about thirty footmen, and, with Bradborne, they began to dig, and Calton saw some of them take up lead-ore and put it into their pockets, and one of them discharged a pistol at one of the Earl's servants.



Then Samuel Swanne arrested Bradborne by a warrant from the Sheriff of Derbyshire, at the suit of the Earl. Bradborne asked to see the warrant, which he took violently out of Swanne's (the bailiff) hands. The crowd rescued Bradborne from the bailiff and they went back to Youlgreave.

But the troops seem to have remained, for either before they left or when they returned later in the day, the Colonel and others, armed with swords, broke down the wall of High Close, adjoining Haddon Fields, of which close Henry Buxton was the tenant. This field had been sowed the previous Michaelmas with winter corn which had "grown hopefully", and was "fairly abruard" by then. They trampled down the corn and dug in the field. Buxton was unarmed, but he stood in his field to prevent damage to his fences and the spoiling of his corn and "to keep his actual possession peaceably". Bradborne commanded one of his workmen to cut off Buxton's toes if he would not move from the spot where he stood. Buxton describes the episode as "gently with his feet" putting in the earth which Bradborne and his men had dug among his corn. He denied beating the said Bradborne.

Before Buxton<sup>15</sup> could again build up the gaps in the walls, about two hundred sheep had a fine time by getting into his field and treading down and eating his corn.

During the next three months after January 1657/8 depositions were taken from the Earl, Lord Roos, Richard Calton, Henry Buxton and others, at the house of Robert Bromehead at Nether Haddon.<sup>16</sup> At a London meeting for both sides, the name of Thomas Thorne was added to those of Lock and the others. But it was August 1658 before there was an agreement between Lock and the Earl and the Committee of the Council; on general lines it followed the one suggested in September 1657. The pits were to be three yards square, the Earl to bear one-third of the charges and to appoint two-thirds of the miners, and Lock two-thirds. There were to be four overseers chosen by each side, and when the pits were not being worked they were to be kept locked and the overseers to have the keys. One hundredweight of lead-ore from each

pit, without selection, was to be sealed up and sent to the Controller of the Mint. If the ore proved that it was a Mine Royal, all the ore was to be delivered to Lock. If not, to the Earl, and he was to be compensated, and neither Lock nor anyone else was to take anything which was not Mine Royal. In the meantime all law proceedings were to be stayed, and the Sheriff and the Justices were to see that peace prevailed, and the Earl to be kept in quiet possession during the digging and the assays.

Ore was sent to London in November, and at the beginning of December Sam Bartlett was appointed the Assay Master for Derbyshire. On 28th December the Assay Masters were ordered to attend on Thomas Lock's petition. And there, apparently, the matter ends. Search in the Calendars of State Papers Domestic up to December 1662 does not reveal any further mention of the matter.

But it is reasonable to believe that the results of the assay proved that it was not a Mine Royal; so far as there is any mention of the silver content of Derbyshire lead-ore during the centuries, it was practically always poor in silver.

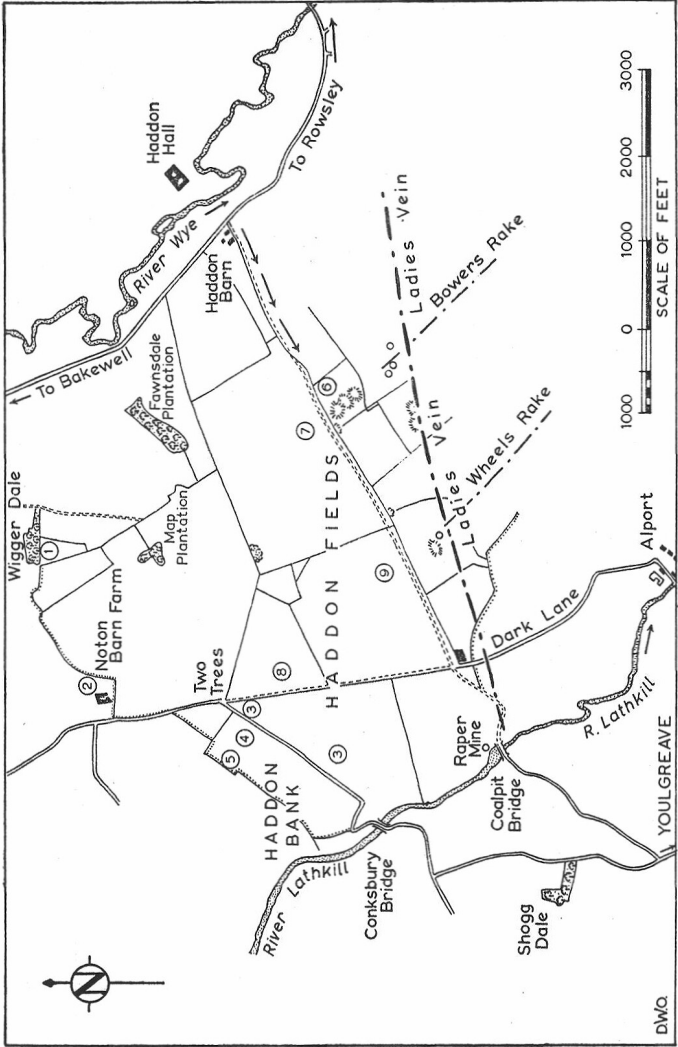
It is not possible from the documentary evidence to state the exact position in Haddon Fields of the mining in the 1650's, nor that of 1649, but the possibilities can be narrowed down. (See Map.)

1. On the S. hillside above Wigger Dale, there have been shafts here. This is too far from Haddon Pastures for it to be the position for the 1657/8 trouble. There is no clue at all for the position of the 1649 mining: all one can suggest is that it is logical from the lead-mining point of view to think that it was probably at or near the 1657 mining. No miner wastes time and expense digging wildly just anywhere. He follows the line of an old vein or discovers signs of a vein on the surface, and there is the inference, though not certainty, that the place of the earlier mining was being reclaimed as a royal mine — certainly it was by some of the same miners.

2. Slight mining here.

3 and 3. There are veins and workings in this field.

4. The line of workings extend into the field on the other side of the road. At (5) an angle in the boundary



The Haddon Fields District.

Based upon O.S. Map, Crown Copyright reserved.

D.W.O.

wall of the manor indicates that probably at one time this now large enclosure was divided into one large and one smaller enclosure.

5. Angle in wall.

Wheels Rake and Bowers Vein have both been worked NW. into Nether Haddon Liberty, up to Ladies Vein. Last century one part of the former vein was called Haddon Wheel's Rake, and they have been worked up to the S. edge of the flat or gently sloping ground of Haddon Pasture, so that it is only N. of Ladies Vein that workings become of interest in this affair.

6. There are shaft hillocks, on Bowers Rake, on this field; one shaft has gone deep enough to require a winding gin — the circle is still visible. Of greater interest, the line of hillocks extends into the large enclosure of Haddon Fields, and there are faint signs as though the vein extends towards the small quarry in the NW. corner. One of the mounds has a larger and a smaller hollow, which will indicate a drawing shaft and a climbing shaft.

7. Shaft mounds in Haddon Fields.

8 and 9. Both these are shown as narrow roads, of about the same importance as the Flagg to Chelmsorton road, on a map as late as 1824/5. So, depending upon which part of Haddon Fields they were going to, there were three ways for the troops to go — down the hill to Alport and then up Dark Lane; or turning out of Youlgreave by the Conksbury road and down to the river by Coalpit Bridge and up by Raper Mine; or over the beautiful old Conksbury Bridge, the first one being the easiest gradient.

Lord John Roos' evidence is that he never saw Bradborne or his men actually working in the manor, and that to the best of his remembrance he only saw Bradborne once in any part of the said lands (i.e. of Nether Haddon) but on the one day in December 1657 when he was riding into Haddon Fields to see his horses, when he saw the company of people a good distance away coming towards Haddon Inn, which makes it reasonably certain that he was riding in the direction of the arrows on the map. He would have to be in the large enclosure containing the

shaft-mounds (7) before he could say with accuracy that he saw the crowd a good distance away. Where he met Bradborne was "without the view" and "about  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile distant". He never saw Bradborne mining, so that it seems as though Bradborne at this point was already on his way towards Haddon Inn. Adding this together, it seems as though (7) is not sufficiently distant.

But if Bradborne had been mining at (3), it seems to fit reasonably with the evidence of Lord John Roos.

And (3) and (4) fit better than anywhere else with Henry Buxton's evidence, and with William Hopkinson's, if (5) and (4) are in High Close. William Hopkinson stood in a close of Henry Buxton's adjoining Haddon Fields, and saw Col. Ashenhurst and his horsemen enter Haddon Field and dig there. (He could have seen them digging at (8) if he was in the field on the other side of the road.) Later in the day he saw the troops forcibly break into the close of Henry Buxton's, and in the latter's evidence it is named as High Close, and was in the Manor of Nether Haddon. (4) could well be named High Close; it is nearly 150 feet higher than the close with the mining at (6), and as it is now part of the large enclosure sloping down SW. to Haddon Bank, it is not surprising that the name High Close is now forgotten as it no longer exists as a separate field. One must emphasise that none of this is certainty, and only that, adding the documentary evidence to a very careful examination of the whole area on many visits, it seems to be the only place where signs of ancient mining agree with the evidence.

Mr. Kiernan searched in a 1799 Survey Schedule for me and found "Middle High Close" and "Far High Close", respectively five and four acres, listed in it which would be the approximate acreage of (4) if it was once a separate field. Mr. Kiernan also said that "Haddon Fields" is considered to be a larger area than that indicated in the O.S. map, all the fields down to the Alport-Pickory Corner road being included, which means that High Close "adjoining Haddon Fields" cannot be anywhere on the SE. or NE. side.

Lock and Bradborne stated that they searched for the royal mine in the "wast feilds" of the manor, while

Richard Cawton and others deposed that "the Manor of Nether Haddon consists of very rich and fruitful meadow and pasture ground, and there is no common or wast ground or barren lands therein", which is borne out by Fuller, writing in 1662, speaking of "the fair pastures nigh Haddon . . . so incredibly battening of cattle that one profered to surround it with shillings to purchase it; which, because to be set sideways, not edgeways, were refused." In the documents, the area is referred to as Haddon Fields, or Haddon Pastures indiscriminately.

#### NOTES AND REFERENCES.

<sup>1</sup> William Humphrey was an assay-master at the Mint, who erected smelting furnaces at Beauchief, using charcoal, and smelting three to four foders of lead each week at each furnace. He brought into this country Christopher Shutz, a Saxon miner, a "workman . . . of great cunning, knowledge and experience." In 1565 a patent was granted to them for an iron jiggging sieve which they introduced into Derbyshire, and which is said to have been first used at "the old Rake, Longston Lordship." (This will almost certainly be Deep Rake, on the top of Longstone Edge). It was probably the jiggging sieve for washing lead ore, fairly new in Germany in 1556, which was round, with two handles on the rim, made with varying degrees of mesh, and shaken by hand up and down in a round tub nearly full of water. Shutz (Shute, Choute) is said to have lived at Calver.

<sup>2</sup> Exchequer Bills and Answers, Derbyshire. E.112/294/31.

<sup>3</sup> William Saville had been the Earl's agent for 45 years. Later in the century the family purchased Beeley and lived at Hill Top House. He died in 1658, aged 60; there is a tablet to him in the south transept of Bakewell Church. Rowland Eyre of Hassop was a royalist and recusant who had raised and commanded a regiment of foot for Charles I, and maintained it at his own expense. He had to pay £21,000 to Parliament when royalists' estates were sequestered. Born in 1600, he died circa 1674. He owned a number of manors and lands, and among others, the Barmastership of the King's Field of the High Peak, and lot and cope there, the Barmastership, dish and Barmote Court of the manors of Hassop, Rowland and Calver. His right to tithe of bees in Bakewell was leased out to John Manners. There was a Richard Cowton (Cawton, Calton, Colton) at Stanton in 1633 and 1666. The Buxtons held the manor of Youlgreave some time after 1629 up to 1685, when they sold it to the Duke of Rutland. William Hopkinson of Ible, b. 1636, was the son of George Hopkinson b. 1604, who was the solicitor of the Earl of Rutland. They were people with a reputation for knowledge and responsibility in lead mining affairs, and were described as "men of known honesty." They held considerable property in Bonsal, and were employed as lawyers in the Dovegang affairs, drawing up deeds, serving decrees on Cornelius Vermuyden in London and at Middleton-by-Wirksworth (*D.A.J.*, 1952, p. 105 etc.). The father was "well-versed in the Custome of the Mines," and was Steward of Dovegang at one time. He was a royalist, and, in his own words, "repatious soldiers had several times pillaged mine house and substracted my substance (even all that seemed good in their eyes)" during what he called "the most unnatural Civil Wars in England when a Christian King, Parliament and people . . . were deprived of lawful Power Libertys and Livehood . . . by the violence of some few Deboched, Hare-brained Poor Desolate Martialists." (MS) Derby Library. Lead Mining Laws of Derbyshire by George Hopkinson 1644. William Hopkinson of Bonsal was one of the Grand Jury at the Derby Assizes of 1681, at the trial of George Busby, Priest. Samuel Swanne. The Swans

of Hurdlow were a well-known Derbyshire family, who were part purchasers of the manors of Lea and Bradbourne. The Will of Edward Swan of Hurdlow 1757 bequeaths property in Hurdlow, Chelmorton, Youlgreave and Hartington.

<sup>4</sup> Rowland Habberjam (Habberian or Haberjambe). The family were in the Baslow area as early as Richard III. In 1662 Rowland Habberian married Alice Pettie at Bakewell Church. One of the Moseley family was buried at Youlgreave in 1715, and there are still Moseleys at Alport. I have not been able to trace any local Bradbornes in the 17th century. Staley is a Youlgreave name, and there was a Francis Staley in Youlgreave in 1715. Sellers is a Bakewell name.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Kiernan, of Haddon Estate Office, has told me that there is a document at Belvoir in which Oliver Cromwell forbids the miners to dig for lead in Nether Haddon. He has also given me an extract from a document issued by James I in 1619, "Concerning the Reformation of Abuses in the Melting . . . of Lead," complaining that "divers abuses, deceits, frauds, practices and devises" had taken place in the making of pigs of lead, "by putting therein great lumps of scinders and other unprofitable stuff." A commission had reported that "Marchants in foraigne parts" had certified that in English smelted lead they found great stones and other pieces of "unprofitable stuff."

<sup>6</sup> *D.A.J.*, 1936, pp. 130-132.

<sup>7</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom. Commonwealth. Vol. II, 1650, pp. 427, 436.

<sup>8</sup> One cannot help wondering if, after 1649, Heywood left his home to mine elsewhere. For William Heyward (or Heywood) of Youlgreave, b. circa 1620, was a witness for Cornelius Vermuyden in one of his suits against Vandurne in a Dovegang suit, December 1652, and he was cited with the Barmasters and the Jury and others in the case *Wheatcroft v. Vermuyden* 1653, and was among those who rescued Cornelius Vermuyden from the bailiff's men at the time of the serving of the warrant on Dovegang Mine. (*D.A.J.*, Vol. LXXII, 1952, pp. 105-6; Vol. LXXIII, 1953, pp. 25-6).

<sup>9</sup> Robert and George Eyre. Obviously they were gentlemen of important standing, so that it seems reasonably certain that they will be George Eyre of Hathersage, who was a royalist and compounded for his estate, and Robert Eyre of Highlow (1608-1662) who was Sheriff of the county in 1658.

<sup>10</sup> Mouth glue. Shorter O.E.D. 1573. A preparation of isinglass, to be used by moistening with the tongue.

<sup>11</sup> The John Manners concerned in these lead mining troubles was the 8th Earl of Rutland, d. 1679. His third son, Lord John Roos (Ros, Rosse) succeeded him. The tomb of the 8th Earl of Rutland is in Bottesford Church, among the magnificent alabaster monuments of his ancestors. Both the 8th and the 9th Earl lived in great splendour, with a large number of servants, and were noted for their hospitality. The 8th Earl was on the side of Parliament in the Civil War.

<sup>12</sup> I have heard that local tradition said that Haddon Barn, the house opposite Haddon Hall, was once an inn. This is confirmed by the surrounding enclosure being named "Inn Close" on a 1799 survey. There was an inn at Haddon in 1561, and conditions of licensing this inn ordered that they "do not at any time hereafter receive any vagabonds or idle persons but keep good order and rule within the same and keep honest and reasonable vytelling."

<sup>13</sup> In S.P.Dom there are many entries dealing with the use in one county of the militia from another county; in 1650 the Staffordshire militia of horse, dragoons, and foot, were ordered to hold themselves ready to be sent to Berwick. In August 1650 two Derbyshire militia troops were ordered to march to Carlisle. In 1609 certainly in some counties they had colours and drums, and were armed with firelocks, matchlocks and pikes. In 1657 the militia "in case of insurrections and invasions" were ordered to do their best to suppress them. "Persons of estate" were charged with the cost of horse and foot, and those whose estates were under sequestration were to have the same proportions of payment levied on them. Commissioned officers of Captain, Lieutenant, Cornet, are mentioned. *V.C.H.* II, p. 126 quotes from a survey earlier in the century, giving the distinction between "private" and "trained bands". The former being those troops raised by individuals with private means, and the trained bands being those supplied according to the quota of each township. There was an Edward Ashenhurst at Walton Grange, Gnosall, Staffs. in 1657. The family was an old Staffordshire family from

Ashenhurst, near Leek, and by marriage they acquired the manor of Beard in Derbyshire. Col. John Ashenhurst fought on the side of the Parliament in the Civil War, but I have been unable to trace a Col. Edward Ashenhurst in various branches of the family.

<sup>14</sup> In the Registers of Youlgreave 1687 is the entry "paid to Ralph Mather for mending the clock and a cord for the watch 5/-". In 1689, at the time of the William of Orange Revolution, William Lonston, the constable of Youlgreave, allowed Ralph Mather to escape from him, when the latter was being held for High Treason for Jacobite sympathies. Lonston was ordered to be fined £20, and if he did not produce Mather and appear with him at the Sessions, Lonston would be committed to the County Goal until he paid the £20. Whittaker is a Bakewell name, Crosse is Youlgreave.

<sup>15</sup> In November 1674, Francis Smith of Youlgreave was seen to shoot a hare "in the snow at Haddonfield banke" and kill another hare with his gun in "Mr. Buxton's ground near to Haddon Field" which land belonged to the Earl of Rutland (as did High Close), but the ground was now in Mr. Buxton's possession. (Three Centuries of Derbyshire Annals — Cox, Vol. II, p. 82). I asked Mr. Albert Rockach (he was born in Youlgreave and is of the family of Toft on his mother's side) if he knew anything of the history of the Buxtons of Youlgreave, and he told me the following interesting story. The house concerned is a few hundred feet or so east of Old Hall Farm. When Mr. Rockach was a small boy, the house, which has thick walls and is much older than its front appearance, was having a great deal of interior alteration, and below one window, on the interior wall, was found an inscription (which was covered over again) on a stone; "Thomas Buxton is my name, England is my nation, Youlgreave is my dwelling place, Christ is my salvation, when I am dead and in my grave and all my bones are rotten, look here and see I am not forgotten. Thomas Buxton 1633". Lysons states that a younger branch of the Buxtons of Brassington and Bradbourne settled at Youlgreave. In the pedigree given in Glover there is a second son, Thomas, of Bradbourne, in the 17th century. On the front of the fine old house, Old Hall Farm, Youlgreave is the date 1630 and the initials I.B. and F.B.; the date is interesting, being only one year after the earliest date given (see Note 3) for the Buxton family holding the manor, so it seems likely that "B" stands for Buxton. Locally, I have heard differing opinions as to which was the old manor house; Pevsner gives it as the 17th-century house on the main street, but I have also been told that the manor house was on the site of the rebuilt Hall Farm, also that the manor house was Old Hall Farm. By the kindness of Mr. Shimwell and his sister I was taken inside Old Hall Farm, and in a bedroom, which still contains a Jacobean wooden fireplace and overmantel and some panelling, there is a small swan on one of the panels of the fireplace. A descendant of the Swann family told the Shimwells to look for this swan, and told them that the family once lived at Old Hall Farm.

<sup>16</sup> This must be Haddon Inn; all the other enquiries before Justices of the Peace took place there.

<sup>17</sup> *Trans. Newcomen Soc.*, Vol. XX, 1939-40, pp. 139-145. *D.A.J.*, LIX, 1938, pp. 61-65.

<sup>18</sup> *Handbook to Ludlam Collection* — Rudler, p. 56.

<sup>19</sup> *Reliquary X*, 1869, p. 109.

<sup>20</sup> *D.A.J.*, XLVIII, 1926, p. 129.

### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

With thanks to Mrs. Fryer, and Messrs. J. F. Croome, R. Garrett, J. Kiernan, A. H. Rockach, W. D. Shimwell. To Miss P. W. Shield for abstracts from Exchequer Bills and Answers, and to Derby Central Library and the London Library. With thanks and acknowledgment to the Ordnance Survey for permission to use details from their maps, and to Mr. D. W. Oliver for drawing the map.